

Regeneration.

Published every Saturday at
914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Cal.
Telephone: Home A 1360.
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
3 months, 60c; 6 months, \$1.10; 1
year, \$2.00; Single copy, 5c;
in bundles, 3c per copy.

No. 85.
Saturday, April 13, 1912.

Can You Hear The
Forge At Work?

"Regeneration" is not a political sheet and its editors are not politicians. Not one of us has ever met La Follette or had the slightest connection with any one interested on his behalf. If attention is called, therefore, to the opening paragraphs of his "Open Letter to the Progressives of California" it is not for the purpose of boomer him, but because those paragraphs express gigantic truths, which we are ignoring at our deadly peril. Moreover, it is most significant that a man who, for ought any of us know, may become our president acknowledges frankly facts that justify overwhelmingly the so-called "Extremists" of whom plutocracy makes bogeys, to scare the timid. It is further self-evident that the position depicted by La Follette is on all fours with that against which Mexicans are now in arms. Here is what he has to say:

"In twenty-five years of political struggle, I have found one great issue overshadowing and including all others—THE ENCROACHMENT OF THE POWERFUL ON THE RIGHTS OF THE MANY. All the issues of today are but phases of this one great question. How shall the individual, the farmer, the worker, and all those who pay tribute, be set free from the unjust exactions of the tariff, the railroads, the money power, and other forms of oppression by special interests?

"The combinations have unlawfully taken possession of the whole country. They control transportation, manufacturing, mining, capital and credit, the market price of everything the farmer sells, the wages of men, women and children in the factories and mines, the market price of everything the consumer must buy. They have achieved this control—except as to a few of the older trusts—almost entirely under the last two administrations, notwithstanding the prosecutions for which so much has been claimed.

"When Roosevelt became President, the total amount of the stock and bond issues of all combinations and trusts, including the railroads, was in combination, was only \$3,784,000,000. When he turned the country over to Taft, whom he had selected as his successor, the total capitalization of the trusts and combinations amounted to the enormous sum of \$31,672,000,000, more than 70 per cent of which was water. Prices were put up on transportation, and on the products of the mines and factories, to pay interest and dividends on this fraudulent capitalization.

La Follette goes on to show that all this spurious capitalization and all these monstrous combinations have been criminal conspiracies which the courts, so ready to act against the workingman, could have prevented by injunction. Having thus indicted the judicial arm of government, he turns to the executive with these words, which should strike home at this particular moment: "I am opposed to the dollar diplomacy which has reduced our State Department from its high place as a kindly intermediary of defenseless nations into a trading outpost for Wall Street's interests, aiming to exploit those who should be our friends." One wonders, therefore, if Labor, which condemns the industrial "scab," will applaud his military double who hires himself out to assist the task of exploitation; one wonders if Labor itself intends to march into Mexico that it may perpetuate the "dollar" policy against which it struggles so ardently here. If so, it is ridiculous to denounce capitalism or shout approval when orators exclaim:—"Workingmen of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose; you have a world to win."

When the long winter of the North breaks up, it breaks up with a rush. Bright sunshine melts the ice in spots and forms the opening for further winds, which pound the underlying waters into a tumultuous sea and rot the whole structure until it goes out with a roar. The sun starts the movement, but the storms complete it, just as the fall of the avalanche begins with the noiseless slide of an occasional stone. An acorn lies for months, giving no trouble to its neighbors. Suddenly it spreads into an oak and the earth is rent asunder. From a microscopic atom the child is born, with pain and struggle, into the struggling world. These are the processes of nature and we cannot evade them; for we ourselves are part of nature. If you think it is otherwise with social problems look around you. All the theorizing, all the dreaming and prophesying and threatening of the last fifty years are battling to break the shell of habit and realize themselves as life. More than the sun's rays are needed to move the ice habit, and the warmth of new thought has to be supplemented by action's gales.

Consider the case of the British soldier, as he developed in the Transvaal war. Tommy Atkins lands in South Africa chubby and soft, bright-eyed and ruddy-cheeked; he steps proudly to the front in mass formation, for is not any Briton equal to half a dozen Boers? Six months later

you would not know the man. He dodges behind every rock, for he has seen comrades slaughtered by an enemy of whom they never caught a glimpse. He is lean as a greyhound but hard as nails; hawk-eyed and constantly on the alert; he has forgotten the "Manual of Arms" but the practical lessons of guerrilla warfare are at his fingers' ends. And so, in this country, history is repeating itself; for, driven here and scattered there, forced to forage for himself and thrown on his own resources, there is being formed out of what was formerly the good-natured workman a Tommy Atkins of the hardest type, tough as steel and equal to all emergencies, even that of overthrowing plutocracy itself. The army is being licked into fighting shape, and this article started with the quotation from La Follette as a suggestion that before long it will be operating in a friendly country. Then let plutocracy look out.

WM. C. OWEN.

SOLIDARITY

Our exchanges and their comments on the Mexican Revolution mirror weekly the position of Labor's various camps. We think it would be impossible to get a more exact reflection. From the Anarchist press, with one or two notorious exceptions, we get continuous support of the most loyal and intelligent character; for, even though they may find it sometimes difficult to master details, Anarchists all recognize that nine-tenths of the battle is the arousing of the Spirit of Revolt. Practically the entire Anarchist press now recognizes that Mexico has risen from her sleep; and that, however the fortunes of war may fluctuate from hour to hour, the bed of the Mexican exploiter will be henceforth full of scorpions and his road to unearned wealth perilous and steep. This, and the prominence with which the agrarian question has forced itself to the front, are considered by Anarchist papers throughout the world as full of happy omen for the future.

Last week we published an open letter to "Les Temps Nouveaux," protesting against what we considered a blatantly malicious attack. It had scarcely appeared in print when along came "Le Libérateur," also of Paris, with an editorial calling "Les Temps Nouveaux" sharply to account. After eulogizing "Regeneration" in terms so warm that we do not like to quote them, the article says, in part: "For the last six months we have furnished innumerable proofs of these assertions in the shape of articles and manifestoes translated from 'Regeneration' of the chronicle, in extensive detail, of the expropriations accomplished by the people, and of the testimony of such upright and cultivated witnesses as Pratiello, Molinari, Cressie and Tarrida del Marmol. For the rest, all the Anarchist publications, with the one exception of 'Cronaca Sovversiva,' which is pursuing a miserable personal quarrel, are, like ourselves, sustaining with all their power the Mexican Revolution and the organ of the radical section—'Regeneration'."

Other stalwart allies. The Syndicalist press has become splendidly alert, and readers may readily find that one of the most appreciative criticisms quoted in these columns was from Tom Mann's paper. We have seen no better summary of the entire Mexican situation, and its relation to the international revolutionary movement, than comes to us over the Alaskan ice, in the "Daily Norn Industrial Worker" of February 6. It contains excellent studies of Zapata and Madero, saying of the latter: "He was so moderate in his aims and so conservative in his politics, that even the Socialist Party in the United States claimed him as one of themselves, and he had some difficulty in denying the charges brought by the Reactionists that he was merely the spokesman for Standard Oil and Wall Street. When the wretchedly paid workers in mines and plantations struck for better conditions he sent troops to give them the option of jails or their miserable jobs, and dealt summarily with all believed to have been guilty of fostering industrial unrest. He was the ally of the administration in its policy of repression, court-martialed and shot in cold blood. It even tried to obtain the Americans who had aided him in the stormiest days of the insurrection delivered to him, bones, and all, so that they might receive their quietus and be prevented from again taking up arms to assist in helping the peons to freedom."

The Freedom of Pregnancy. Equally satisfactory is the editorial of April 4 that appeared in the "Industrial Worker" of Spokane. Was it emphasizes the importance of the land question and remarks that "the revolt is making things extremely interesting for that worthy personage (Madero) and for the capitalists as well. It is to be hoped that the peons will gain their ends." After demonstrating that "the threatened invasion by United States troops is not to intimidate Madero but to uphold him," the article concludes: "The Mexican Revolution, like the Lawrence strike, the British coal strike and the murderous actions at San Diego, is one of the signs of the times. The world is pregnant—a new social order is about to be born."

From the fact that the "International Socialist Review" has applied to the editor of this section for and accepted an article on the Mexican Revolution, that publication, which represents the advanced wing of the Socialist Party, would seem to have been interested. It has had the intelligence to master the arguments in favor of Syndicalism, as a natural and therefore healthy growth, presented by Max Nordau, nearly a year ago. The other wing maintains a studious silence, having allied itself, in the pursuit of political loaves and fishes, with the thoroughly reactionary American Federation of Labor element. As to this latter, its position is aptly represented by Gompers when, in reply to our appeal a year ago, wrote us a typical letter, assuring us

of his profound and everlasting sympathy and promising to bring our case before the immediate attention of his colleagues. That was the last we ever heard of the matter and it was the last we ever expected to hear. We thought it only just to give Gompers and his clique a chance, and having done that we were satisfied.

Junta Leaders Will
Stand Peniless
in Dock

Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores Magon, Librado Rivera and Anselmo L. Figueroa, members of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, will be placed on trial, Thursday next, April 18, charged with violation of the neutrality laws. Their devotion to their cause constitutes their greatest danger, for they have spent every cent it has been possible to raise in spreading to the four corners of the world knowledge of the Mexican's wrongs and the struggle he is making to redress them.

No set of men could have been, by any possibility, more self-sacrificing; no men could have sunk themselves more absolutely in the great conflict of which they have been and are the backbone. Never has, it been with them a question of how they themselves would fare. Always the one object has been to push the propaganda. For they are propagandists, first and last and all the time; flinching nothing, compromising nothing, concealing nothing. Labor has had no more outspoken advocates and is not likely to have.

As an inevitable consequence they are penniless. Never have they set aside a dollar for their defense, and their one attorney, Mr. Job Harriman, has not received one dollar. It is always around the standard-bearer that the fight is hottest, and we must face the fact that conviction is possible. In such case there must be an appeal, and there we reach a position for which money is imperative. Counsel, themselves deeply interested in this fight for human liberty, may give their services free. Court stenographers will not. The transcript alone and its printing, as required by the rules of court, will call, as we are informed, for something like a thousand dollars.

Where is it to be got? The answer must be given by those who read these lines, and if lovers of liberty are as much interested, and as alive to the importance of this case, as we are, the money will be forthcoming.

All money should be sent, and sent at once, to:
Manuel G. Garza, 914 Boston St., Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A.

Mosby Must Face
Court-martial

After eight months in the Los Angeles County Jail, during which he wound he received at Tecate developed into consumption, Jack R. Mosby has been taken to Mare Island, where he must stand trial on the charge of having deserted from the United States navy. He has penned a most pathetic farewell to his comrades in which he says he cannot hope to live out the sentence that will be imposed. He adds that it was not cowardice but hatred of the inactive life, and anxiety to take part in Mexico's struggle for freedom, that moved him to desert, and that his one regret is that he did not die on the battlefield, as did Stanley Williams and others of his beloved comrades.

The one who knows Jack Mosby will doubt for one moment the truth of that statement. Our civilization, with its jail and penitentiary hell, is a thousand times more cruel than the open fight, no matter what the peace advocates—usually comfortable plutocrats, well contented with things as they are—may say.

Let us trust that Mosby's prophesy respecting his own future may prove erroneous; but, however that may be, he will live on, a vital figure, in the memory of those who knew him. It is where all true life is truly lived.

THEIR ONLY COURSE.

The successful fight at Lawrence was a typical example of DIRECT ACTION, using the words in their proper sense, and not in the slanderous sense to which they have been perverted by the office-seekers who have tried to drive Haywood out of the Socialist party. These thousands of textile workers at Lawrence were nearly all disfranchised. At the polls the few of them who could vote were hopelessly outnumbered by the hangers-on and the dupes of the capitalists. All the powers of government were for the time being in the hands of their masters. Already on starvation wages, they were threatened with a further reduction. They resorted to DIRECT ACTION; in other words, they STRUCK, they stood together, and they won. ("International Socialist Review.")

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

In a speech delivered in New York City recently Senator Borah said that we are the most lawless of any civilized nation; that in no country is there "so little respect for law because it is law." The Senator might have added that there is no people in the world so fond of making laws, no nation that employs so many law makers and none that can come within a mile of us in the number of law factories. ("The Agitator.")

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might. If you fight, fight; and fight to the last ditch.

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink; Let traitors turn away; Whatever we have dared to think, That dare we also say.

While Armies Wait
Revolution
Advances

When American and other plutocrats bought Mexican land by the hundreds of square miles did they ask what right the vendors had to sell it? Did they ask how it was that a few were able to dispose of principles? Of course they did not. They took their alleged titles knowing them to be absolutely rotten. They knowingly made themselves partners in one of the most gigantic crimes on record. By every principle of justice they should be punished. Most certainly they should not be upheld by American bayonets.

Of the big battles, which seem to us as a people, since they are under the leadership of those anxious to grasp or retain political power, the past week has recorded next to nothing. On the other hand, the little battles, fought by the people themselves when they seize a tract of land here and capture a hacienda there, appear to be as plentiful as ever. But it becomes more and more difficult to collect the news, government censorship growing in strictness and being now extended to cablegrams. From all quarters comes to us such information as that contained in the following: From Cananea, Sonora: "The telegraph office has received orders to transmit messages relative to revolutionary matters. From 'El Imparcial' we take this: 'Last night we were informed that the wire we lease from the Federal Telegraphs would not be at our disposal, the reason given VERBALLY being that the lines were very busy and that a wire could not be put at the disposition of the Associated Press.' Under date of March 30 the same paper stated that cablegrams sent by way of Galveston had become subject to censorship, and added: 'Correspondents of North-American papers, who have been in the habit of coming to this office for the purpose of sending off their messages, have been suffering by discovering that their reports are mutilated, only such information as is favorable to the government being allowed to pass.'"

So far as the big fighting is concerned, Gen. Aubert, after an encounter with the Orozco-Gomez forces, fell back from Jimenez and is now reported as in Torreon, the garrison at which all-important center has been re-inforced by Cosío Rebello at the head of 350 rurales. The special correspondent of the "Los Angeles Daily Times" wrote from Mazami, State of Durango, April 4, that Aubert had succeeded in evading the enemy, but had lost all his artillery, except two light mountain guns, and all his ammunition and provisions. He described officers and men as having reached Mazami in fearful shape, after suffering untold hardships on the march. The capture of artillery will help Orozco greatly, it being understood that he is delaying his onward march that he may strengthen his artillery arm, in which he has been weak.

Federals Much Outnumbered. The "Times" correspondent, who is following the forces closely, thinks poorly of the Federal chances, saying: "If it is true that Orozco has from 10,000 to 15,000 men, which I do not doubt at all, and the Federal forces remain here to give him battle, I think a great disaster is apt to befall the Federal army, which now numbers about 10,000 men, including 1,600 men." He adds that the Mexican army has lost its best soldiers. Most of them were killed in the last and present revolutions, or deserted. Out of the 24,000 men, well-trained and disciplined, that Porfirio Diaz had, hardly 8,000 remain today. The country is big, and with the revolution in the North and the Zapata movement mainly in the South and a little everywhere, the army is so disseminated that its task is not only a gigantic but almost an impossible one. He adds that only two weeks ago the important town of Mazami, where the Federals have been concentrating, was raided and looted by 900 Zapatistas. It is a big mining camp, with 12,000 inhabitants.

All the foregoing agrees with our own information, and is reinforced by the fact that Gen. Huerta, who had been ordered to advance North against the rebels was at last reports still in the City of Mexico, not having been able to get men. Consider also the fact that Braniff, previous spokesman of these columns as one of Mexico's land grandees, recently equipped a force of 500 volunteers in Mexico City, but that when ordered North they refused to budge. Also the fact that several hundred volunteers sent to Torreon are now prisoners at Monterey, having refused to go into action. Consider furthermore that, when it came to the test, Diaz' boasted army, built up so patiently for years, melted away like snow in summer. The fact is that the Mexican naturally rebels against governmental military service. Let not those who are longing for intervention, however, imagine that he cannot fight. Even his most hostile critics have been forced to change their minds on that point by the record of the last twelve months.

Expropriation Rampant. "El Imparcial" considers the entire State of Durango, which is one of the largest and richest in Mexico, as in rebel possession, except the district around the capital city. We list this week notices of five extensive haciendas having been raided there by guerrillas and thousands of head of cattle, with many other supplies, divided among the people. In the State of Oaxaca we note three towns as having been taken and sacked by guerrilla under the leadership of Jose

Maria Rivera and three others by rebels headed by Felix Hernandez, who then moved on into the State of Guerrero, where he took possession of two haciendas. Rebels from Ometepe then joined him. "El Imparcial" also speaks of the Hacienda de Jicayan as having been seized by the natives, who divided it up among them and uprooted the sugar crop. We have chronicled similar proceedings before. The object is to plant corn and other quicker and more essential crops.

Rebels and Sinaloa appear to be as greatly disturbed as ever. From Guajuato come reports of the same class. For example, the hacienda of San Antonio Cerro Prieto, near Silao, was sacked by a rebel band numbering 125, and that of Chichimequillas by one numbering 800. In this latter was a troop composed exclusively of women. The Fourth District of Tamaulipas is reported as all in arms, and one notes that at Tampico, a private citizen, Fernando Lopez, is said to have equipped at his own expense 700 men for service against Madero. The last named has made recently the dramatic pronouncement: "If I leave Mexico it will be in my coffin."

The thousand rifles and million cartridges ordered for the defense of Americans resident in Mexico City reached there safely. The government has been reported as concentrating there all possible forces and making plans for defense.

As In Mexico

A. R. Sauer is editor and proprietor of the "San Diego Herald," an independent paper that favors Roosevelt for President. He is sixty years of age, has a family, has lived in San Diego twenty years and is respected highly. Friday morning, April 5, his paper is on the streets and has as its main story the kidnapping of I. W. W. members by Vigilantes, to whom they had been delivered by the police. Sauer objects, and heads his story "Rule of the Vigilantes—Anarchy reigns supreme." That night he is seized by six men, shoved into an automobile, bound, blindfolded, whirled away to a distant country point. There he is placed under a tree, a rope is thrown across one of its branches and the noose is pulled taut round his neck. He saves his life only by promising to stay away from San Diego and swearing that he will not divulge the names of his kidnappers.

Three of whom are said to be prominent business men. He is now in Los Angeles and informs the reporters grimly that he is just beginning to fight. Assuredly we hope so.

That tells the whole story, for you understand at once that there are no limits to which power and money will not go in San Diego. The police even hold up the I. W. W. attorneys and threaten them with Vigilance treatment. They arrest those selling well-established but critical papers, strip them naked, give them the third degree, are guilty of unspeakable barbarities. A pawnbroker is beaten up by sailors from one of our battleships because he hangs out a red auction flag. A lad aged nineteen is lectured by a San Diego judge and sent for two years to the reformatory, because he will not lie and declares himself an Anarchist.

Many similar examples could be cited and the story reinforced by reports from San Francisco and other coast cities. It is all unspeakably brutal, savage and shamefully unjust. There is one consolation, and that assuredly is a great one—the oppressed are being made to understand, as never before, and factionism has been drowned in the flood of general indignation. The most conservative trade unions are passing resolutions, holding mass meetings and raising generous funds on behalf of the San Diego free speech fight. The almost incredible folly of the enemy is our invaluable ally.

PRESSURE BY EUROPE.

Ill-humored comment upon President Taft's reluctance to adopt a military policy in Mexico tends to become severe in some foreign organs. The disappointment of the Paris "Rebats" as well as of the London "Post" takes on a tone almost of injury. British, French and German mining interests in the States of Sonora and Chihuahua had a right to anticipate intervention from the Taft government. Thus all European dailies which find Mexico interesting. The mining interests were driven in the end to make a combined appeal to Washington. It was seconded, "Temps" understands, by the ambassadors of these countries. An urgent representation from the foreign office in Paris dwelt upon the millions of dollars in damages sustained by smelting plants. What sort of reply was framed by the Department of State at Washington is a matter of speculation abroad. It is obvious to the "Temps," however, that the Taft government is sensitive to Latin suspicion. It fears to provoke those South American elements which are forever warning a whole continent that the United States is aggressive. Chilean and Brazilian statesmen especially would look with apprehension upon the United States as a policeman in Mexico for the benefit of Europe. ("Current Literature.")

BEGIN AT THE BOTTOM.

Now, so thoroughly obsessed is the American citizen with the idea that everything must be accomplished through politics—through government, through having some law passed on the subject that it is next to impossible for him to get the I. W. W. viewpoint through his head. The State Socialist, who of all Americans is the one most thoroughly obsessed with the political or governmental idea, will be the last to understand. The State Socialist works from the top down, when he is planning his Utopia; the I. W. W. intends to work from the bottom up. (Charles Willis Thompson, in "New York Sunday Times.")

AUTHORITY

Assuredly we have to fight, but we have to fight effectively. We must know where we are going, locate the real enemy and cease wasting effort on men of straw. We cannot travel North and South at once, and of two theories in direct conflict one or other must be wrong. Authority is or is not necessary and beneficial to the workingman, and it is becoming increasingly evident that on this we must make up our minds. In the British House of Commons recently a Labor member created a frightful uproar by declaring that if there were no laws the poor would be infinitely better off. He voiced the one heresy that privileged assembly could not tolerate. Was he right or wrong?

The stronger the revolt the greater the hatred of Authority. That is inevitable, because Authority's special business is to put down revolt. All new movements, all struggles against existing conditions, all strikes, revolt speech agitators, though usually only against the special Authority that opposes them. But, as we are living in an age that is clamoring for innumerable changes, and as these changes are consistently opposed by Authority in some shape or form, there naturally has arisen the question whether Authority is ever beneficial except to those who want to keep matters as they are. Let us investigate.

What is authority? Power over others; the occupancy of a position that abates to dictate and compel obedience. It is a power that is, therefore, out of the same cloth as that from which come the divine rights of kings, the pope's infallibility and similar pretensions. It is the natural ally of aristocracy and foe of democracy; the life of special privilege and death of equal opportunity; the bodyguard of compulsion and assassin of freedom; the very life-blood of monopoly and heart of the master-and-slave philosophy. Whatever else they may concede rulers never will acknowledge that society's division into governors and governed should be abolished. Somehow, in their opinion, inequality must be maintained; somehow the few must be clothed with power to shape the many's lives. But, he who has power over me has me at a disadvantage, and, sooner or later, he will enrich himself at my expense. He will toil less, or not at all, for himself. I shall toil more, or altogether, not for myself but him.

Labor's Instinctive Goal. The basic idea of the labor movement is that work shall be the only title to reward. The basic idea of privilege is that something should be got for nothing. Therefore, as men do not willingly give up what is their own, privilege needs power to make them do so. Morgan, Rockefeller, the Steel Trust, etc., must employ special powers which will force the masses to contribute. They must have a land monopoly, upheld by law. They must have a money monopoly that puts the distribution of products at their mercy. They must have a patent monopoly that will keep out competitors. Thanks to these devices they become a ruling class, and the most stupid workingman should be able to understand that their privileges are purchased at his cost.

The first and most essential part, therefore, of labor's program must be the destruction of the privileges it has bestowed, and the labor movement must be, like the great upheaval that overthrew chattel slavery, an abolition movement. It must establish economic equality, and the first step toward that is the abolition of special privilege. In the easiest and quickest manner possible the masses must be covered for themselves, and the individual worker must recover for himself the power given away so foolishly. Thus production and distribution will be freed from the straitjacket in which they stifle, and the laborer will drop the burden from his back.

The March Has Begun. Along this line Labor, obviously has begun to move, and it was practically the only line left open. In a country so choked with laws as is the United States it has become impossible to make increasing want and wretchedness believe that in adding to our wilderness of statutes lies relief. In face of the universal failure that has attended such measures as government ownership of railroads it is impossible to make the worker believe that he betters his condition when he makes the State his master. On the contrary, all the European and Australian railroad strikes have taught him that in so doing he places his neck under the yoke of military despotism. Furthermore, an important, since men learn mainly by events—the direct action into which Labor has been forced in order to save itself from annihilation is showing it, beyond all question, that Authority is always and everywhere the inviolable foe. That is the teaching of Anarchism, and the economic program I have sketched is the program of Anarchists the wide world over. It was taught by Henry George, Tolstoy, Buckle, Nietzsche, Stirner, all the greatest minds that the last generation saw fit to honor. Under the pressure of conflicting interests—what we know as the "class struggle"—it is being translated into direct action, mainly perhaps through the Syndicalist and I. W. W. movements. In Mexico there is a large and formidable party fighting hard to put into living practice in its purest and most uncompromising form.

Names amount to nothing, for the simple reason that prejudice always has to yield to the pressure of events. If the Anarchist program is sound it will triumph, and we may be very sure that the anathemas of plutocracy will help rather than hinder it. That the ideal carries no threat of social dissolution is self-evident when you study the definition given by the best of all authorities, the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." It is as follows: "Anarchism—(from the Greek, contrary to authority) the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained not by

submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions."

Nearing the Climax. No; the ideal is full of life, not death. Its realization, however, is plunging us already into the struggle of the ages. For it seeks the final overthrow of power; the final extinction of the rule of man by man; the final abolition of privilege, and of the force and fraud without which privilege could not last a day. To this struggle all the great revolutionary movements of the past four hundred years have been preliminary. It was toward the goal of Anarchist freedom that half the population of Europe was steering when it threw off the spiritual despotism of Rome. For that goal Englishmen were headed when they executed Charles I and introduced constitutional monarchy. The French took an immense stride thitherward when they demolished the hoary fortress of feudalism; and the fathers of this great crusade separated themselves from Great Britain and wrote the Declaration of Independence, put themselves for the moment at the head of the procession of the ages. Their great-grandchildren bettered the instruction by the abolition of chattel slavery. To the gathering climax all civilized nations have contributed.

The pace at which we are travelling in the direction indicated may be gauged by the dissensions that now mark the Socialists' movement, a large percentage of which is composed of Syndicalist tactics and philosophies which are distinctly anti-governmental and, therefore, Anarchistic. On the other hand, Socialism of the old and original type is not anti-governmentalism but governmentalism, in its most centralized and concentrated form. Lloyd George being entirely right when he said recently, in the British House of Commons: "Some talk as if Socialism and Syndicalism are two forms of the same danger; but, of course, they are destructive mutually, and we can only choose between the fact that the best policeman for the Syndicalist is the Socialist."

That held good of the Socialist as he was only a very few years ago. That holds good of many of the Socialists as they are even today. But that will not hold good of the Socialists as they will be in the tomorrow that is already on us. For Direct Action is what the Labor movement is being forced to, and Direct Action brings it immediately into conflict with Authority, which thereby grows more and more unpopular with every collision between the masses and the classes. And with the masses the Socialists must go, revolutionizing their own platform and affording the philosopher another illustration of the truth that metamorphosis is the universal law, and that nothing ends as it began.

LABOR'S NEW POLICIES.

What, then, is this new force in the labor world? Briefly, the aim of Syndicalism is the overthrow of the present capitalist society, and the substitution of unions of workingmen, controlling the whole of industry. The Syndicalist advances beyond political or constitutional action. He works, not through any "Citizens' League" group, but through the "C. I. W." waged by the direct action of workingmen, grouped in Industrial Unions, and employing the triple weapon of the multiplied strike, the sympathetic strike, the general strike. The pivot of Syndicalism is the general strike.

The workman is assured that, once he adopts Syndicalist policy, industrial capital will inevitably be transferred from its present owners to himself. The abolition of wages is to form the basis of the unions of the future. The workman, producing the necessities and luxuries of life for himself. Both the Utopia and the methods of Syndicalism are closely allied with the Utopia and the methods of Anarchism. According to the famous exponent of Syndicalism, Georges Sorel, the new movement actually had its birth when the Anarchists entered and dominated the French Trade Unions or Syndicates. "Historians," says M. Sorel, "will one day recognize that this entrance of the Anarchists into the Syndicates was one of the great events which have happened in our times." ("Fortnightly Review.")

NOW IN PAMPHLET FORM.

Mr. Geo. B. Wheeler, of Chicago, has paid this section the compliment of reproducing in pamphlet form and at his own expense, the editorial of Jan. 12, entitled "McNara Case and Socialism." Ten thousand copies have been printed and they can be obtained at this office or from Mrs. Dora Crouter, 4259 State St., Chicago, the price being twenty-five cents for a hundred copies. The pamphlet raises a question of great importance and we believe its circulation will be good propaganda work.

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